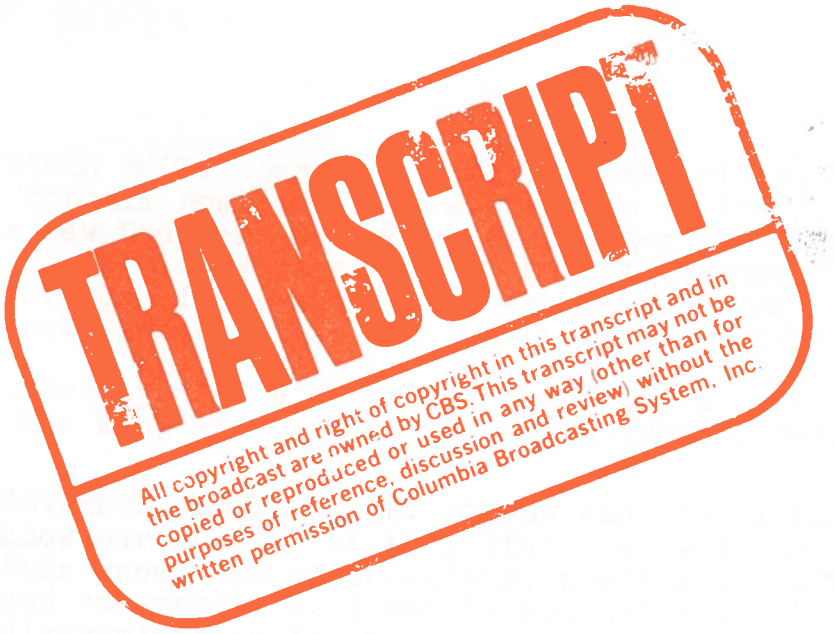
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CBS NEWS SPECIAL

"New Voices in the South"

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With CBS News Correspondent Roger Mudd

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ROGER MUDD: During the first weeks of this year, when all those football Bowl games were going on in the South, the inaugurations of a few Southern Governors were minor events. The pomp and circumstance of politics were not up to half-time ceremonies, but the results were far more important. What the rest of the nation learned a couple of weeks ago was that the South seemed to have turned a corner.

Unless you're a political expert, you probably never expected to hear this kind of rhetoric from a Southern Governor.

GOVERNOR JIMMY CARTER: At the end of a long campaign, I believe I know our people, of this state, as well as anyone could. Based on this knowledge of Georgians, north and south, rural and urban, liberal and conservative, I say to you quite frankly, that the time for racial discrimination is over.

GOVERNOR JOHN WEST: We can and we shall, in the next four years, eliminate from our government any vestige of discrimination because of race, creed, sex, religion or any other barrier to fairness for all citizens.

MUDD: It seemed to a lot of people in the North, the East and the West they were hearing new voices in the south.

ANNOUNCER: This is a CBS NEWS SPECIAL: "New Voices in the South," with CBS News Correspondent Roger Mudd.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

MUDD: Good evening, I'm Roger Mudd. Not until the inaugurations last month in half a dozen state capitols in the South did the nation come to realize that the South indeed was changing. Everybody had heard last fall that some new, young faces had been elected but few seemed willing to believe they were anything but updated models of an old leadership that had kept the South from truly joining the Union. Their inaugural speeches, however, turned out to be genuinely remarkable Southern political documents.

There was Jimmy Carter in Atlanta declaring that "the day of racial discrimination is over." Dale Bumpers in Little Rock, John West in Columbia and Reubin Askew in Tallahassee - all promising out loud and in public a formal, official end to the racial policies of the past. Not only was there change on race, there was a willingness, even an eagerness to go after the problems that afflict every state in the Union: medical services, city slums, transportation, taxation and prisons.

Tonight we shall try to find out if they really mean it; and if they do, why they mean it. First, is there a New South?

WEST: I think the rest of the United States unfortunately still looks at the South, and maybe South Carolina in particular, as being a relic of the old South, the land of magnolias and slavery and segregation and discrimination; and actually, the South has changed.

ASKEW: I think the South is changing and I think a lot of the standard techniques that were used in the past, when candidates really exploited the fears and anxieties of people, I rather think that that day is past.

CARTER: Georgians are still conservative in their outlook, but it's a conservatism that does not include racism, that the time for this racial discrimination is over. And that conservatism doesn't include hiding our heads in the ground and refusing to recognize the changes that must take place in a modern technological world, and that conservatism doesn't mean carelessness or unconcern about our fellow men.

BUMPERS: I think there is a new awakening all across the South toward a more progressive attitude, toward a concern for all people. This may sound trite. It's just that simple belief that when one man suffers, we all suffer.

MUDD: All of the Governors we're speaking to made public statements saying that discrimination is a thing of the past. We asked them why they made the statements.

BUMPERS: This isn't ever going to be a really good place for any of us to live until it's a good place for all of us to live. I think this is the sort of thing that captures the imagination of the people. They like it. It's something different in this state and I think it's different in the South.

CARTER: I'm not dumb enough to doubt that race is still a major factor in many people's minds, but as far as a political issue is concerned, I think it's about over. Our people the last year have accepted the proposition that they are going to obey the law.

ASKEW: Well, I think the fact that once you get into the adjustments, the adjustments aren't nearly as badly as some people thought they would be, nor had the problem - problems been as great as someone might have feared. When you have a toothache, you know, when you have to go to the dentist, the fear of going to the dentist is usually much greater than after you're there and you see what it's about. And I think to a large extent the racial adjustment of the South has been this way.

WEST: The majority of thinking South Carolineans - and I'm referring now primarily to white South Carolineans - have come to the conclusion that there is no justification socially, morally, or in a religious sense for discrimination and that anyone who stands for discrimination is not worthy of public trust, or public office.

MUDD: Is it too cynical to say that the main reason for the change in the South has been the Voter Registration Act of 1965 and the enhanced political power of the black?

WEST: I couldn't deny that that would be a substantial factor. It would be a little bit cynical and I certainly wouldn't say it, but if you said it I wouldn't say that you were on completely unsound grounds.

MUDD: Because that has been of - of enormous influence, has it not?

WEST: There's no question but that the power at the ballot box has been a factor.

ASKEW: I think that a lot of the change in thinking would have taken place even without this, But certainly the realism of it as such and the fact that the power is in the ballot certainly has to have had an impact.

MUDD: But just for the operating practical politicians, what would be the main motive? Is it the increase of black registration at the polls?

CARTER: That's certainly a factor. I know I've learned a lot about the pecular problems of black people within the political campaign arena. I've been thoroughly conversant with - with poor, poverty-stricken whites. This has been our own background, but I think to be poor and black is a peculiar problem and I think I and all other Southern politicians have come to understand this peculiarity and the problem and they've been determined to deal with it in a frank way.

MUDD: The Governors also agree that one of the reasons for the new status of blacks in the South has to do with new economic forces.

WEST: We had a former United States Senator and very great industrialist, Charlie Daniel, who many years ago, when it wasn't popular, pointed out that South Carolina could never make any real economic progress until that segment of our population which was, in his words, "an economic millstone around our neck," was raised up; so we've got to educate the poor, which in many instances meant the blacks, and put them into the economic life of the state in order for the whole state to progress economically.

BUMPERS: There again we have the economic problem. I don't care whether a person is black or white, if he's out of a job, he's a ward of society, so you - there again, you have both the social and the economic problem.

MUDD: One of the Southern politicians's cornerstones of power has traditionally been his alliance with big business: non-union cheap labor and a low tax rate in exchange for campaign support.

CARTER: There was a case four years ago, or eight years ago in Georgia when a local sheriff or bank president or newspaper editor or ordinary or clerk or some powerful person in a community could control the political outcome of a race in the community.This time is gone forever in Georgia. I'm glad to see it go.

MUDD: Are you such a new breed of Southern politician that you don't have to sit down and negotiate anymore with Arkansas Power and Light and the big fat cats?

BUMPERS: Well, I haven't. In times past perhaps that was the tradition, but I have not and I don't intend to.

MUDD: But the traditional alliances in many Southern states has always been between the Governor's office and the big industries to depress the tax rate on - and this arrangement was what kept politicians going. Do you find that is losing its vitality?

BUMPERS: It lost totally in Arkansas this year, because we had no alignments, none whatever.

MUDD: Well you campaigned, didn't you, against the big mules of Georgia?

CARTER: Yes.

MUDD: Coca Cola, and Atlanta Newspapers?

CARTER: Yes.

MUDD: They are good popular enemies for a politician to have?

CARTER: I didn't choose them as enemies. I would have preferred their support.

MUDD: Well, what's the matter with Coca Cola?

CARTER: Well, I found the Coca Cola Company to be very friendly since the election was over.

MUDD: Well, well. How about the banks? The big banks? Are they your friends?

CARTER: Well, they are now.

MUDD: They are now?

CARTER: Yes.

MUDD: They weren't before?

CARTER: No.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

MUDD: We're speaking to four newly-inaugurated Governors of the South, who can be characterized as racial moderates, elected without demagoguery, who share similar views about the South's economic future, who appear serene in the rightness of their convictions and who possess a certain elegance of phrase and turn of mind that sets them apart from the gallus-snapping, chittlin-eating Southern stereotype.

Dale Bumpers, 45, still enjoys a tunafish sandwich in the kitchen like any other small-town lawyer who's made it all the way to Governor's mansion in his first state-wide political campaign. But his victory has made him a big-time political power. He knocked off Orval Faubus in the Democratic primary and in Novemenber he left Winthrop Rockefeller's Republican party in shambles.

BUMPERS: I made a very strong appeal during my campaign to the blacks in this state, knowing incidentally that I was not going to get very many of them. Governor Rockefeller had strong support among the blacks, but this never deterred me; I went into their communities, I made overt open appeals to them consistently throughout the campaign.

MUDD: Open?

BUMPERS: Yes.

MUDD: Well, just looking at it from some distance, what obligation do you have - you didn't get any black votes to speak of, did you?

BUMPERS: Well, there have been all sorts of estimates about how many blacks we did get. We think probably ten percent. Others say eight percent. There's no absolute way of knowing.

MUDD: But you take a politician's - "I don't owe them anything, they didn't vote for me at all."

BUMPERS: You're getting - I think you've been getting, Roger, down to just a matter of conscience. As I say, I've always, I've worked hard for race relations in my own community and whether they voted for me - There are two hundred thousand people who voted for my opponent. It's been generally estimated that a hundred thousand of those were black. Now, I can't be Governor of just the four hundred thousand people who voted for me. These two hundred thousand people, black and white, deserve my attention and my leadership just as much as those who voted for me and I said during the campaign I wanted to be Governor of all the people. Of course, I don't mean, don't misunderstand me, I'm not going to abdicate my responsibility in favor of consensus. There are certain places where you take a stand and you alienate people. But what I'm saying is you don't isolate yourself from everybody simply because they voted against you. I wouldn't and I couldn't and it wouldn't be natural for me to even try. I'm not that much politician, I guess is the best way to put it.

MUDD: Jimmy Carter, now installed in Georgia's $2 3/4 million Governor's mansion with his family of four, is a native Georgian. He's 46, a peanut grower, a former State Senator, a graduate of Annapolis, an ex-submarine commander, a man who enjoys art and poetry and who is proud of his inaugural speech.

CARTER: I can't remember the exact words although I wrote them, but - but I think it's very important that a person who is either poor or black or rural ought not to have to bear an additional burden of a lack of - of freedom, or opportunity for simple justice. Government is a - is so important to the poor; it's not very important to the rich. The wealthy only depend on government or a state government for good highways. We can avoid, the wealthier people can avoid even the public schools. But the poor people have to depend on the state government in an intimate way for schooling, or the Welfare Department' very important. Public health, labor, pardon and paroles, corrections, probations; these functions of state government are an integral part of a poor person's life. They are not an integral part of a - of a lucky person's life, And I feel this very strongly and I think all of my appointments in the past, all of the public statements I've made have very accurately demonstrated this to Georgia people. So I've done all I can, I've only been in office three weeks.

MUDD: Reubin Askew of Florida already is embroiled in a tough legislative fight over his campaign pledge to tax the corporations. Elected as a political reformer, the 42-year-old Askew is Florida's first Governor from the Panhandle in a hundred years. Succeeding the flambuoyant Claude Kirk, Askew is a non-smoking, non-drinking Presbyterian elder.

ASKEW: We have a lot of problems in Florida, the country has a lot of problems, but I'm of the mind that if you approach them honestly and you don't try to demogogue them and you recognize what the problem is then I think you can set about on a solution, but in the past we've had many who simply played on the fears of the people about the problem, without a willingness to face up to the problem, and I think by doing this your chances of finding a solution become eminently greater.

MUDD: South Carolina's new Governor is 48-year-old John West. After 16 years in public life, including four as Lieutenant Governor, West knows the legislature and its leaders. In a state like South Carolina, West probably represents the South's sharpest break with the past.

MUDD: Governor, can you explain why the rest of the nation was so astonished by your inaugural speech?

WEST: I suppose it was a little bit unusual for a Southern Governor, but we tried to call the issues as we saw them and, of course, I didn't anticipate that we'd get quite the recognition outside the state that it seemingly has. Many of the extreme conservatives approve and you know, it's hard to disapprove really a statement that you want to

eliminate hunger, malnutrition, provide adequate housing and perhaps the startling thing is to eliminate discrimination in government and I'm delighted that South Carolineans now recognize discrimination is wrong, that we can't have it and I think for a Governor to say it perhaps was a good step towards actually achieving that elimination.

MUDD: I saw on television last night when I got here to Columbia that you were on a hunger tour, poverty tour.

WEST: Yes.

MUDD: The first poverty tour by Senator Hollings was greeted in South Carolina, if I remember, by a lot of derisive laughter, I think. He was accused of showboating. Have times changed now so that you can make such a tour without being laughed at?

WEST: Well, frankly, there was some skepticism about whether we ought to make this tour, but I think if a person goes and sees with his own eyes what we saw yesterday of cases of human hunger, of little children who had had no breakfast, who - of nine persons living in a single one-room shack with no plumbing, no facilities. Of five children sleeping on a floor, for example, with no bedding in thirty degree weather. When you see things like that, you, you don't laugh at it, you can't laugh at it.

MUDD: All the Governors we're hearing have two things in common. They're Democrats and they've only been in office a few weeks. As yet, the Governors have barely governed - so their nobler thoughts may soon be tempered. But one thing they're experts in is how to win an election. They've all won and they're all supersensitive to the political climates in their states. So as Democrats, they now find it safe to criticize President Nixon; as Southerners they are guarded and cautious about George Wallace.

BUMPERS: If you're asking me if I think he will run in '72, and secondly if he does run, what are his chances, I say first I don't think he will run and that's just a personal opinion; secondly, I think his chances of carrying as many states as he did the last time, or carrying any states in the South, will be very slim.

ASKEW: I think that Governor Wallace's strength still extends outside of Alabama. He certainly, I think, still enjoys, I think, support within Florida. To what extent, of course, no one can tell. At this point I don't think that there is the momentum that there was prior to the '68 election.

CARTER: One of the strengths of George Wallace in the previous election was that they are, that the national Democratic candidates in - well, I say the national Democratic convention in its choice of candidates and the candidate himself did not consider the South in their decisions. This almost gave George Wallace the support of

Georgians and South Carolinians by default. I don't think this will ever be the case again. He'll have to wage his own campaign. I think that he'll be much less of a factor two years hence than he was two years ago.

WEST: Many of the persons who supported Mr. Nixon in preference to Mr. Wallace, largely upon Senator Thurmond's representation that Mr. Nixon would do, practically speaking, all that Mr. Wallace said that he wanted to do. It means that Mr. Wallace would still have a strong following in spirit, but again the practicalities of a third party candidate seem to be less now than they've been at any time.

MUDD: What about President Nixon's strength in the South? How do you think he could do down here in 1972?

CARTER: Well, he won't get my support. If we have a good Democrat. President Nixon and the Vice President and the Secretary of Agriculture and President Nixon's daughters all came to Georgia to campaign for my opponent. I won by an overwhelming majority. I think the Georgian people were alienated by the interference of the Nixon Administration in a Georgia gubernatorial election. I personally think that President Nixon hurt himself severely in Georgia by injecting himself into a local race.

ASKEW: A lot of things haven't been such as people thought they would be by having a Republican Administration and I rather think a lot of Democrats are going to want to vote Democratic next time if there's a candidate that they feel like is acceptable to them.

BUMPERS: President Nixon has reversed himself on a number of things. For example, he sees an $18 billion deficit coming up, which apparently doesn't disturb him very much. I can think in times gone by it would have disturbed him very much. He says now he is a Keynesian economist, which I don't think anybody ever thought of him as being before. So as I say, many of the things he's not saying I think indicate that he has essentially abandoned his Southern strategy.

MUDD: Well, what does the movement in the South that you've talked about mean politically for Richard Nixon in this part of the country in '72?

WEST: I think it means that Mr. Nixon's Southern strategy of 1968 vintage is doomed.

MUDD: Do you think the Democrats can carry South Carolina in '72?

WEST: As of this moment, there's no question in my mind.

MUDD: Regardless of the candidate?

WEST: Undoubtedly the character of the candidates would be quite a persuasive factor, but I think what I can say with confidence at this stage is that Mr. Nixon's credibility is lower than it's ever been, so any acceptable candidate, any reasonable candidate would have an excellent chance against him.

CARTER: Unless the Democratswould go off on the deep end as an ultra-liberal party who caters to dissident radical groups and who ignores the South in the future, if the Democrats are foolish enough to do that, then the Republicans could very well do the wonderful things in Georgia. I don't think the Democrats will make that mistake in two years.

BUMPERS: This would depend to some extent on who the nominee is,but I think right now the Democratic party would have an excellent chance of sweeping the South.

MUDD: You do?

BUMPERS: Yes.

MUDD: You mean, against President Nixon?

BUMPERS: Yes.

ANNOUNCER: "New Voices in the South" with CBS News Correspondent Roger Mudd will continue.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

MUDD: This broadcast has been, now that we look back at it, a tribute to the people of the South, more than to their Governors. The assault the Federal Government and the liberal establishment mounted against the South in the 1950's and '60's was stimulated, in large measure, by the racial barbarisms Southern politicians were unwilling to prevent. From the Governors' mansions and the state capitols came unrelieved defiance and incessant cries of "never." And it left the Southern people exposed and defenseless as the nation's demand for compliance and change grew angry and then grew bitter.

But the people of the South not only survived, they also prospered, despite their elected leaders - the Faubuses, the Perezes, the Barnetts and the Griffins. Today in the South, the politicians have finally caught up with the people. They want to get on with it. As Dale Bumpers said in Little Rock: "This has been a long agonizing process for the South, and I think the people are glad it's behind them."

This is Roger Mudd for CBS News. Good night.

ANNOUNCER: This has been a CBS NEWS SPECIAL: "New Voices in the South."